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[591] this group is on the affinal relationship. Because of patrilocal resi-
[601] dence it is the daughter-in-law who occupies a special position. She is *hwainkó* (younger female), a term that receives her with familiarity and some condescension as an in-group member. A daughter-in-law is considered to be at first a replacement for a daughter who has married out, and she lives for a time under the jurisdiction of her mother-in-law, helping her in gardening and in all food preparation. A woman tries to keep her daughter-in-law within her household as long as possible, speaking of her not as her son's wife but as a replacement for her daughter who has been lost to her by marriage. One aspect of the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is stereotyped, and that is the tug of war between a woman's desire to keep her daughter-in-law within her jurisdiction and the desire of the young wife to win autonomy by cultivating her own garden. For the rest, the relationship depends upon the interplay of personalities and upon the circumstance of whether the bride is a foreigner or a brother's daughter or a member of the brother's sib or phratry. When a child has been born and a woman has her own garden, she and her mother-in-law achieve a relationship of greater equality. Terminol-
[601] ogy does not change, even though the reference to an elderly woman as *hwainkó* may seem incongruous. The term defines the relationship at its inception.

[867] It is the role of a woman to introduce her daughter-in-law to the
[868] economic routines and to the local customs of the community, a task that would be inappropriate for her husband. Since the Cubeo often marry women who do not even speak their language or dialect the initial period of tutelage is most important, even though the Cubeo do not stress this feature of what is really an apprenticeship.

The relationship with a son-in-law is governed by the circumstance that he normally does not become a member of the community. At best he will be a visitor who joins in the male activities. His relationship with his mother-in-law is one of restraint rather than of formal
[601] avoidance. It is perhaps for this reason that she addresses him as *hwainyó*. His relationship with his father-in-law, on the other hand, borders on intimacy and is predicated upon the equality of men engaged in their common tasks of hunting, fishing, and the conduct of ceremonies. Perhaps it is this equality that governs the use of *pani* or *paniyó* as a reciprocally used term between father-in-law and son-in-law.

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601 The other set of affinal relationships recognized by the Cubeo are those involving spouse's siblings, for whom a variety of terms are applied. The general affinal term is *kodjú* or its plural form *hikódju-*

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mana (my in-law group). These generalized terms are most appropriate in referring to members of a phratry into which one has married. They have a connotation of a claim to hospitality and of expectation of further intermarriage. Of this group of terms there is also *hikódjumu*, that is used reciprocally between men – sister's husband and wife's brother as well as sister's husband's brothers and brother's wife's brothers. Across the sexes women call their sister's husband's brothers as well as their husband's brothers *hikápenàmu* and are called by these men *hikápenamo*. Women call their husband's sisters *hiwemu* and are called by them *dyáko*. *Dya* is a very general term that may be applied reciprocally between any actual in-laws of the same generation. Finally, I have an alternate term for spouse's siblings, *hihâwükimana*, and the term *kibü* for brother's son's wife. What may be observed about the affinal terms in own generation is that affinals are generally not confused with cross-cousins. As we have noted, the *tcimá* usage, which has the connotation of "sweetheart" for the Cubeo, is entirely inappropriate when one of them has married. Should a man be courting his brother's wife's sister, who is his cross-cousin, she is his *tcimá*, or rather *hitcimako*. If not, courtesy calls for the use of the affinal terms.

ORPHANS AND STEPCHILDREN

The treatment of orphans and stepchildren underscores the importance of the actual blood tie for the Cubeo. Parents lavish affection only on their own children. While a woman is obligated to look after all her husband's children, this need mean nothing more than that she feed them. That she will favor her own children and neglect or treat the others harshly is more or less expected. A man does not expect his second wife to accept as her own his children by another wife. A girl with a stepmother has a more difficult time than a boy, since women generally favor their sons and are harsh with daughters. The mother is her daughter's disciplinarian in household work. Her son is the little lord of the household, his sister its slavey. Stepdaughters are set the most burdensome tasks while own daughters are then freer to play. Own daughters then make common cause with their mother at the stepdaughter's expense. Since the father does not mix in the female side of the household he can do little to improve his daughter's lot with her stepmother.

A boy with a stepmother is less underprivileged. His is the male prerogative of being looked after by a woman, his mother or his sisters. He has his male play pack for companionship and can look

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571 619 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

571 606 • 607 593 [583] [616] [582] [614] Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of exchange marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geographic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

571 615 In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively substantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest.

571 614 578 [615] [754] Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman